1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

mother sent them to pick up any drops of blood which might be left, and they found a few, which ultimately turned into bird eggs and hatched out two macaws. The people were angry at the boys, so the grandmother told them to flee, leaving her behind. They were to return in four days, and whatever they found in her place would be her gift to them. They returned and found a tobacco plant. For a long time they did not know what to do with it, but finally Elder Brother visited them, told them to smoke it, and instituted the passing of the ceremonial cigarette.

Many songs given by the old woman to her grandsons accompanied the growth of tobacco. But the Papago at present buy Mexican tobacco, and only one planting song was remembered.

TOBACCO PLANTING SONG

39. Am I not the tobacco shaman?
Here I come forth and grow tall.
Am not I the tobacco shaman?
The blue humming bird finds my flowers.
Above them softly he is humming.
Hiro a'ăro.(2)

The communal meeting with fruit effigies is no longer held. But Santa Rosa and its companion villages continue their ceremonies at the shrine, and many individuals use planting songs and invocations.[8]

[8] Public ceremonies for growth are held at the desert shrine which serves Archie, Akchin, Santa Rosa, and Anegam. Other ceremonies are held at Kaka. There may be more unknown to the writer.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

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THE SALT PILGRIMAGE

ALONG the northern beaches of the Gulf of California there are salt deposits, left in the low sandy stretches by the high tides. The country is waterless and uninhabited, and few whites have penetrated it even to the present day. Records have been left of this forbidding waste of sand dunes by Kino, by Anza,[1] and later by Lumholtz,[2] and all thought they were lucky to get themselves and their animals through alive. But the Papago, since prehistoric times, have been visiting this wilderness to fetch salt, both for use and for trade. Velarde reports: "There is salt in the inlets on the coast. The Pimas take some to distribute to friends and relatives, especially the Pimas of the west (Papago). Those of the north care little about it." [3]

To this day the Papago continue their pilgrimages to the salt beds.[4] They have, through the centuries, worked out routes which take them past the few hidden "tanks," or rocky reservoirs, of rain water to be found in the wastes of sand. Even so, the last lap of the journey which brings them to the gulf must be made with no other drinking water than that in their canteens. Though they take canny means to compass the journey safely, they make no attempt to minimize its hardships. Rather, these are emphasized to the last degree and used as an occasion for heroism. Even in the days of gourd canteens, they carried only the minimal quantity of water. Now that they have horses, they use them neither for carrying extra water nor extra quantities of salt. They fast voluntarily almost to starvation.

[1] Bolton, 1930, I, 90. [2] Lumholtz, 1912, pp. 196–254. [3] Velarde, Sec. 2, p. 127.

[4] The Pima do not make the salt pilgrimage, but say they always traded for salt with the Papago.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

317 tarily, almost to starvation. They run until men have been known
484 to die from the effects. The south, which is the direction of the gulf, is often designated in their poetry, not by a color, but as "the painful direction."

The hardships, which have been thus raised from an accident into an institution, constitute one of the principal opportunities for gaining power. The journey is hedged about with ceremonial restrictions, from the time it is first proposed till long after the return. The salt pilgrimage is, in fact, very like a war party, and some of its rules are even more stringent. It is as though the Papago, who had so little to do with war, had transferred some of the magical elements connected with it to this safer and more regular form of ordeal.

The returned pilgrims were purified, like the enemy slayer and the eagle killer, and they achieved the same title: "ripe man." Their endeavor, like that of the other power seekers, resulted ultimately in rain. Pilgrims are thought to bring back with them the moist wind from the ocean, and the songs used for their purification are the same as those for the growth of crops. During the ritual the salt is ceremonially spoken of as corn. Yet it is not, in itself, sacred, any more than are the crops. After a little of it has been purified, just as specimen crops are purified at the cleansing
● [435] ceremony, salt may be eaten, given away, or even traded, without further ritual. The Pima, who do not make the salt pilgrimage, used to get all their salt from the Papago by trade.

PREPARATION

[184] All the Papago villages, in the old days, made the salt pilgrim-
[197] age. Now, some have dropped it, and others may have dropped most of the ritual. Only Santa Rosa and Anegam have a full set of songs and speeches, and the others admit that "they know how to get salt. The rest of us just do what we can."

Each main village had for the salt expedition a recognized leader who was known as *siiwanyi*, the old name for rain magician. His functions were both practical and priestly, for not only must he know the route and the water holes but also must make

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

disturbed, the devil might have developed into a guardian spirit in good standing.

There were some more organized versions of Christian belief. One of these grew up among the northern Papago, who had retained their tradition of a yearly pilgrimage to Mexico. In fact, their goal was Kino's old headquarters, the church at Magdalena, in the Altar valley. Gradually the visit there became formalized, so that instead of a winter sojourn by individuals or families, it was a pilgrimage of several weeks, made by half the population of a village. The Franciscan priests who today control the missions believe that the custom may have had its roots in Jesuit times. Otherwise, why do the pilgrims always bring home the picture of St. Francis Xavier, patron of Jesuit missionaries? The Franciscans suggest that, had they instituted the custom, they would naturally have used the picture of their own patron, St. Francis of Assisi.

The journey as an institution lapsed some years ago, when a Mexican revolution closed the churches. Until then it had been one of the great events of the year for the northern villages. This is how one participant described it, in the days when the journey was made by wagon.

> Everyone who can sell a cow and get money goes. There are about a hundred wagons in a big long line, and they make a camp circle at night. The lady that gave the statue of St. Francis to our church always takes it with her to be blessed. She carries it in her trunk, wrapped in a blessed cloth, and when she camps she sets it on something, never on the ground. . . . When they get to Magdalena, they go straight to the church and get their property blessed. Then they have a good time and buy things.

As indicated by the last lines, the days in the rich Mexican valley were as much a carnival as a religious exercise. The little town of Magdalena brought out its stores of fruit, candy, cheap jewelry, and Mexican finery and held a fair in the plaza. It was from this source that the Indians brought their most cherished white man's goods. Only recently has it been displaced by the nearer markets at Tucson.

The Indians always saved a little money for candles and holy

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

two baskets of beans and corn. Most old men knew how to spin cotton on the thigh and the purchaser's family might spin it or call in the neighbors for a working bee, giving them their meals meanwhile. If they brought raw cotton to the weaver, he got it spun in the same way. The chief articles made were large blankets to sleep on and narrower strips for womens' skirts. For the large blankets the price was a horse or its equivalent in produce or buckskin. The skirt the woman bought, herself, with a good willow basket of her own make.

Plaited baskets, plaited mats, netted carrying baskets and pots were made by elderly women, too old for the heavy work of corn grinding and food gathering. They were not such expensive articles as skins and cloth, an olla being worth enough beans or corn to fill two basket bowls while for a mat the measure was a winnowing bowl.

But besides this exchange among themselves, some Papago made a business of trading trips to the Pima, to Mexico and to the Yuma. These were a winter occupation on the same basis as hunting and sometimes combined with it. The Papago were homeless in the winter and many of them, instead of camping at the Well village wandered about trading their goods or their labor for enough to support them until the wet season came again.

Russell gives a list of the goods which the Papago, supposedly so poor, managed to get together for trade with the Pima. It includes giant cactus seeds, cholla fruit, agave fruit in roasted cakes and syrup, Rcat (wild potato), wild gourd seeds, small peppers, acorns from the Bellota oak, prickly pear syrup, baskets of agave leaf, sleeping mats, carrying baskets and fibre to make them, maguey fibre for picket lines, dried meat of deer, mountain sheep and cows tallow .... deer and beef, ... cheese, buckskin, livestock, red and yellow ochre, buff-colored ochre for baskets, salt.[1] What they wanted in return was food, principally wheat, which they themselves raised only in small quantities. But frequently their price was corn and beans enough to keep them alive. The people who used this expedient came from the northern villages, the Archie and Kuhatk groups and Káka, who were the Pimas' nearest neighbors. They often had relatives in the Pima country or at least friends and they pursued their exchange in the same manner they used at home.

The southern villages had their contacts with Mexico where they took principally dressed skins, cooked mescal from the mountains and their labor. They brought back knives and clothing and the knowledge of a more advanced culture than was to be found on the

[1] Russell pp. 93—94.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
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Gila. The Mexicanization of southern Papagueria can be laid largely to these winter trading trips. However, the people with whom trade was carried on were the Mexican Papago and the method was essentially Indian.

Trade with the Yuma was less frequent but of old standing. In 1698, while Kino was at Kuitatk, an old woman trudged into town from the west, with a pack on her back containing snails and little shells from the sea which she herself had brought from there.[1] She had probably been close to Yuma territory.

LABOR

Often what the Papago had to exchange was not goods but labor. Within the geographic unit, there was constant need for assistance in planting, harvesting, housebuilding, ditch digging, spinning, arrow making. Any individuals available gave their labor and their household was repaid in labor. goods or, sometimes, goodwill. But if no relatives were available, neighbors would be called on. The pay for such labor was return labor when it was needed and the meals eaten while working. But the meals were a very slight expense for "In old days people never ate much." For what was needed, there was abundance.

Harvest was in a class by itself for, at this time, the workers were often paid in produce. To invite relatives to help at harvest was a favor to them and families invited the distant ones seriatim in different years. Such an invitation meant a close tie and the family sometimes went into council as to who should receive it. The group in App. I, 5, took turns in inviting the wife's relatives and the husband's. As pay, they asked them to help themselves but the amount they took would be regulated by what they thought they could repay. One informant mentioned two sacks of wheat out of ten or "a pile" of unhusked corn or beans about three feet in diameter (21).

With the present scattering of Papago residence, relatives are not always available and neighbors are invited. No bargain is made but they are paid, as in trade, with whatever the giver can afford. "But those who are stingy can't get any one to work for them. I always have lots of help because I give a big pile of melons or a sack of wheat" (2).

It was on this same basis that the Papago worked for other people and, since their most constant employers were the Pima, we may assume that the pay was calculated in the same way. The River

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 399.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

up one by one shouting the names and presenting them to the proper gift partners. Each stick recalled to him the name of a particular individual, a difficult form of mnemonics for Whites, but the Papago, trained in memorizing by rote, did not consider it as hard as abstract counting. Something like the same process may be observed today when an Indian, in trading at the store, points to an article, pays for it and gets the change before dealing with the next one.

The Papago word now used for *count* is kwint, obviously from the Spanish *cuentar*. But the writer, in studying a Spanish grammar of the Lower Pima,[1] was puzzled to find a Pima word which was translated count. After much conference with Papagos, it was decided that the word was *ha kiwikitat*, to whip them continually, and seemed to have been derived from the counting of strokes under the Spanish punishment system.

MEASURES

Dry measure was calculated by the basketful. The basket bowl, the winnowing basket and the carrying basket were roughly standard sizes and all had various decorative lines parallel to the rim by which fractions of their content could be measured. In measuring quantities for trade, however, both parties to the bargain used the same basket so they could be sure of equal measure.

For linear measure, parts of the body were used. Women, in making a basket, took as a unit the handbreatdh: the distance between the outstretched thumb and forefinger. Half a handbreadth was the length of the first finger and "less than a handbreadth" the distance between thumb and first finger. For more exactitude, the worker used the distances between various fingertips, with the hand outstretched.

Men measured the length of wood for a bow by the distance from the tip of the second finger to the breast bone, when the arm was stretched forward. The arrow should be as long as the space between the hands when pulling the bow string. Lengths of rope were measured by the distance between the fingertips when the arms were outspread or, for short ropes, the distance from elbow to wrist.

CEREMONIAL NUMBERS AND DIRECTIONS

The Papago ceremonial number is four and four is continually used whenever small amounts are thought of. Possibly, in former

[1] Grammar of the Pima or Nevome, a language of Sonora, from a manuscript of the XVIII Century. Edited by Buckingham Smith, 1862.

dark but there are white lines in the east. Those are the white hairs of Elder Brother who made us. He put them there so we can know when day is coming and we can go out to look for food.

We crawled out the little door. I remember that door so well. I always crawled out of doors till long after I was a married woman and we stopped being afraid of enemies. Then we made houses with white men's doors. But this one was little and when we came out we could see the houses of my relatives nearby among the cactus, and the girls coming out of them, too, to get water.

Those girls had nothing on above the waist. We did not wear clothes then. They had strips of hand woven cloth in front and behind, tied around their waists with a string, for we did not know how to sew them together. Only deerskins the men knew how to sew, but our people had traded this cloth from Mexico and we thought we were very fine. And with good red paint above the waist, it *was* fine. And warm too. But the girls did not put on their paint in the early cold morning. Then they had to work.

There was no water at Mesquite Root; no water at all except what fell from the clouds, and I am telling about the month of Pleasant Cold when the rains were long over. Then our pond had dried up. If we wanted to stay in our houses, the girls had to run for water far, far up the hills and across the flat land to a place called Where the Water Whirls Around. That was a low flat place, a good place for corn, and the water ran down to it from all the hills. A big water hole was there full of red mud. Oh yes, our water was always red. It made the corn gruel red. I liked that earth taste in my food. Yes, I liked it.

The girls used to crawl laughing out of the houses, with their long black hair hanging to their waists, and they would pick up their carrying nets. Fine nets we used to have in those days, all dyed with red and blue. Shaped like a cone they were, with tall red sticks to keep them in shape. When the net was on a girl's back those red sticks would stand up on either side of her face. We used to think a pretty young girl looked best that way. That was how the men liked to see her.

I was too little to have a net than, or even clothes. But I used to help my cousins put the jars in their nets and to put little sticks between them so they would not break. The boys would stand laughing around and if there was one who was not a relative the girls would joke with him. They would throw gravel at him and run away, and once a girl said to one of my cousins: "Give me that male thing you have and I will put it between my water jars instead of a stick." So we called that man Between-the-Jars. Yes, that is how we joked in the old days.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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Where the Rock Stands Up was nearer to where the white people live/59^ than Where the Water Whirls Around. My husband had an adobe house 587 there, not a brush house. He took me into it, and we lay down and rested. Then he said: "Since you have done this, my younger sister, look around and see your home." There was a little fireplace with a chimney, and inside there stood a box full of money. The old man raised horses and sold them to the white men and the Apaches. He opened that box and said: "Whatever you want, you buy." I had only the things I had on. I said: "I have no cloth to make clothes. And no sandals." I had come barefoot from Where the Water Whirls Around; we do not wear sandals except for long journeys. "In two days, get food ready and we'll go to Tucson. There are beans, flour, lard, wheat." So I ground the wheat and made tortillas.

We started on two horses for Tucson, not on one, as I had always ridden before. I had never been to Tucson. It was not like it is now, but there were stores. I bought a silk shawl, brown, with pink roses and long fringe. I was ashamed to spend so much but he said: "Buy another for every day." Then I would not have bought anything else but he bought a pair of shoes. I never had shoes before. He bought good pieces of calico and a canvas bag to put them in. He went to tie them on a horse, and he pointed to something in a window: "Don't you want that over there?" It was a sewing machine. I said: "What would I do with it?" So we left it and came home.

That old man had many horses. He traded them to the Apaches, and [439] they paid him money, not food and clothes, as my first husband used to be paid. He could go to Tucson and buy any kind of food he wanted, lard and wheat and potatoes and cow's meat. I got fat. I could not stoop over to put on those new shoes. My uncle came to see us when he was trading horses and he said: "What have you been feeding her?"

But I felt bad. I did not love that old man. I was not fond of him. I/59^ used to go in the washes and lie flat under the greasewood bushes and cry. Or I would lie on the floor in the house, when my husband was away, covered up with blankets. It hurt.

I never saw my first husband again. They told me that when he heard of my new marriage he cried. He said: "I didn't think she would take my child from me. I thought she would stay near and at last come back."

He did not say anything about leaving that second wife, but she left him. I had gone when the watermelons were ripe, and that very autumn, [586] when the grass was dry, she went home. I did not know it. Where the Rock Stands Up was a day's run on foot from Where the Water Whirls Around. His brother came much later and told me, but then it was too late. In the spring, in the month of cholla ripening, he got sick. His brothers

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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ployers are the mining companies (chiefly at Ajo west of the Reservation), surrounding ranchers, and the foremen of the cotton fields along the Salt, Gila, and Santa Cruz rivers. Work in the cotton fields is largely on a family basis, but individuals work in the mines and in households in near-by cities. During the war there was an increasing demand for Papago labor, and some went to distant points to work in factories of all kinds. The government is also an employer: the Agency hires over a hundred Papago as clerks, bus-drivers, school housekeepers, range riders, and in other capacities, chiefly as unskilled laborers.

Even with the addition of wages, Papago income is very low. In 1940, before war wages had swollen the total, the average family income (including estimated value of products used by the family) was about $530 per year, but this does not present a true picture, for two-thirds of the families had incomes of only $265 or less. The more prosperous third, whose incomes brought up the average, were those with cattle, permanent jobs, or private business enterprises, most of whom lived in the southern and eastern districts. In 1943, war jobs, military allotments and extensive cattle sales forced by the drought brought average family income up to about $1,200, but this is obviously a situation unlikely to be duplicated.[6]

THE FUTURE OF PAPAGO ECONOMY

We have seen that the Papago live in a rural peasant economy which has only recently shifted to a cash basis. Money is increasingly important to the Desert People because they no longer produce most of their own food and clothing. A recent study of Papago food habits showed that over half the food used in the period of the study was purchased.[7] Even beef is often sold, and meat is bought.

Many things are imported which could be produced locally. There is a flour mill on the Reservation, but all flour sold at trading posts is imported. Though cattle-raising is the chief Papago cash industry, all the meat sold in two of the three Reservation stores handling this product is imported.

Almost all business on the Reservation is in non-Indian hands. A recent report states: "It is estimated that of every $100 that is received by the Papago, some $50 goes immediately into the hands of businessmen off the reservations. Not only does $90 out of every $100 received from the export of produce, cattle,

6. It is interesting to note that in this year the Papago *family* income was not much above the average *per capita* income for the country as a whole, $1,031 (Charles F. Schwartz, "State Income Payments in 1943," Table 1). For the state of Arizona, per capita income was $805.

7. Emma Reh, "An Economic Study of the Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona" (MS).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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439 441 and labor go immediately for the import of food and clothing, but the 25 per cent of this amount which represents the retail profit is lost to the Indians."[8]

657 The Agency has proposed that Reservation stores should be either co-operatively or individually owned and run by Indians and stocked through large-scale co-operative buying. This would provide both better goods at lower prices and employment for Indians.

The government has also encouraged the Tribal Council to set up a Fair and Rodeo Board, which has constructed buildings and grounds for tribal fairs. A Loan Board has been established to lend money to stockmen and farmers.

Other improvements in Papago economy have been suggested by the Agency staff or the Tribal Council. Recently the council requested the opportunity to resettle several hundred families on Indian lands along the Colorado River which are to be opened to other tribes. (Whether families can actually be persuaded to relocate is problematical.) The Agency has plans for bringing in water to certain areas, conserving present resources by introducing new types of plant growth, and acquiring the use of range lands outside the Reservation. These plans, however, depend upon considerably increased appropriations of federal funds.

181 It is obvious that, with what have been termed the poorest natural resources of any Indian reservation,[9] with rapidly increasing population, and with no immediate prospects of more land, the Papago must conserve and improve what resources they have if they are to go on living in their desert country. Despite this critical situation, the Papago are not a harried people. They do not feel the urge to outdo their neighbors which often creates frustration in a completely competitive economy. Their standard of living and the satisfaction they derive from their way of life cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents, though they are coming to feel the necessity for cash and to value the things it can procure. Nor do they have the sense of being hemmed in, and the consequent bitterness against their white neighbors that is characteristic of many Indian tribes whose lands have been steadily reduced. The Papago are aware that the government in many concrete ways has made easier their life in a hard environment. This is not to say that white American civilization has not brought conflicts, has not disturbed the old ways of life. But the Papago still live on the land that has been theirs for centuries, and they do not feel it threatened by white encroachment.

And this is important because their land is all-important to them. All the Desert People—even those who leave the Reservation to take jobs—keep their

8. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 43.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Today there is no wider kin group among the Papago than the extended family. One type of kinship terminology which is dying out on the Reservation has been correlated by Underhill with a former sib structure.[11] The several different terms for "father" in this terminology seem to have indicated patrilineal lines. The significance of these terms today is difficult to determine, for they are being replaced rapidly by the generalized term for "father" (*auk*) or, in many families, by "daddy." It is safe to say that no well-developed clan concept survives and that the present concept of the family and the extended family has not changed radically within the past generation.

The old people say that, when I'itoi created men, he called the first one a Coyote, the next a Buzzard, the third a Coyote, and so on until all mankind (i.e., all the Papago) was divided into two groups. The younger people today hardly know to which group they belong, and some say that they belong to both; even for the elders the terms seem to have little significance except on ceremonial occasions, when they form the basis of standardized joking.

The Papago have no other formalized humor as do many Indian tribes, but jokes and teasing are the salt of daily life. Low and spontaneous laughter rises whenever the Desert People are gathered together, or the occasion is indeed a serious one.

MAKING A LIVING TOGETHER

In Papago society the household is the fundamental economic unit, and each member does his share of the work necessary to make a living in this difficult environment. Men are responsible for tilling the fields and caring for the livestock; women manage the domestic essentials; children help with the household or farm chores according to their strength and ability. The division of labor is thus fairly definite, but all work together when necessary. Women and children help bring in the crops and gather wild plants and fruits. Boys of ten or eleven often plow.

Both men and women make articles for sale or barter. Most women know how to weave baskets; a few make pottery or occasionally sew for others. The men tan leather and braid ropes of rawhide or horsehair. Money earned by handicrafts is thought of as belonging to the artisan rather than to the group, but in a society where incomes are low, a considerable proportion of such earnings must be used for family needs.

Since the introduction of wage work, some members of the family, particularly the young aduks, are beginning to feel less obligation to contribute to the household. Most of them, however, continue to help, either bringing home provisions or sending money. Wage-earners who do not assist the family are

11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Jesuits, the date of the pilgrimage was shifted to the feast day of St. Francis of Assisi, patron of the Franciscans, October 4.[10]

The change in the identity of the saint made no difference to the faithful. San Francisco Xavier is their saint, who watches over them and helps to bring rain to the desert. Pictures of the saint lying upon his tomb crowd the walls of their little churches and the altars in their homes. Underhill remarks the sharp contrast between this "cult of a dead man" and the Papago fear of the dead. She believes it quite possible that the Papago do not realize that the picture represents a sarcophagus; for, when the Papago buy a waxen image of San Francisco, they dress it in a silk nightshirt and lay it in a doll bed. "When asked why the saint is in bed, they are vague. He is a white supernatural, and that is his way. They cannot tell why he performs his miracles lying down, but they know he performs them."[11]

The annual pilgrimage to honor San Francisco is the greatest event of the year for many a Papago family. For weeks ahead of time talk is of nothing else. A cattle roundup and sale are held in September to procure enough food, clothing, and supplies for the two-hundred-and-fifty-mile journey and the week spent in Magdalena. The family *santos* must be packed carefully, so that they, too, can be taken to receive the blessing of the saint. At last the family sets out by wagon, truck, or car, sleeping by the road at night.

In Magdalena they camp together with other Papago families in a large open field on the edge of town. Every day they go to market in one of the two central plazas, where there are row on row of little booths, with fruits and candies, bakery goods, bright-colored clothing, knickknacks, and sacred objects for sale. The adults buy clothing and household equipment for the coming year and gifts for everyone at home, while the children wander about the plaza, gazing at the booths, spending a few nickels a day for sweets or occasionally riding the merry-go-round.

Menfolk are likely to be found in the bars around the second plaza, since in Mexico they can get all the liquor they can pay for. Women worry because their men get drunk and lose all their money to the Mexicans or are jailed for creating a disturbance. A loud-speaker blares out the names of those who have been arrested, and their wives obtain their release by paying a fine.

At least once during the week the mother (and perhaps the father) takes the children into the church to touch the image of St. Francis. New *santos* and bright ribbons bought at the shops outside, and the *santos* from home, are

10. At the mission of San Xavier del Bac near Tucson, also founded by Kino and later rebuilt by the Franciscans, the great celebration of the year is still on December 3, the day of the Jesuit saint.
11. Ruth Underhill, "Acculturation at the Papago Village of Santa Rosa" (MS), p. 31.

[Text continues on p. 88-Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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For the Papago a Mexican has one transcendant virtue: he can buy liquor legally, as the Indian cannot do. A Mexican is usually willing to resell it to a Papago at a neat profit and then, at times, when the Papago is drunk, to relieve him of the rest of his money. In any trade relation Mexicans rarely hesitate to take advantage of the Papago, who as a rule are less experienced in money matters. The Papago are aware that the "Smarties" bear watching, and their resentment sometimes breaks out in street fights. For the most part, however, the Papago accept exploitation docilely in order to insure their liquor supply. Furthermore, the Mexican coats the pill with ostentatious familiarity and superficial fraternity.

That the liquor trade is the chief link between the two groups seems apparent from the fact that there are few friendships between individuals and little real social intercourse. The occasional Mexican who works at the Agency is ignored by the Papago; however, this may be due in part to the Mexican's own feeling of superiority. Mixed marriages are frowned upon, and Indians known to have or suspected of having Mexican blood are looked down upon by full-blood Papago.

TRADERS ON THE RESERVATION

609 439

Outside of Sells, the Agency town, the trader may be the only white person living in a Papago village, and his contacts with the Indians may be so intimate that he becomes the chief representative of white culture. Nowadays, with more schools in the remote areas and more visits from government officials, other white contacts on the Reservation are less infrequent, but the trader is still a main channel of white culture.

The influence of the trader and the Indians' attitude toward him vary, of course, with his personality and with the local situation. One of the two white traders in the western districts is a woman who speaks Papago and has sympathy and understanding for Papago ways. She gives the children candy, attends fiestas, and contributes generously to the feasts. In addition, she renders a variety of social services, such as translating and writing letters and driving to bring a medicine man. A trip to her trading post is likely to be an all-day outing, for the Indians come not only to buy but to consult the trader and to ask for her help. They select and pay for their purchases one by one, jokingly haggling over the price of each article. The western people respect as well as like this trader because she allows no one to take advantage of her and stands her ground in conflicting issues; she rents her car at the same rates as Papago owners; and, by keeping informed of cattle sales, she sees that bills are paid when possible. All the Hickiwan Papago are loyal to her and trade with her in preference to any other white on the Reservation.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

THE PAPAGO AND OTHER PEOPLES

In the eastern districts there are more stores, and trade is generally brisker, so that there is not so much opportunity for extended personal contact; then, too, there are other white people to ask for advice or assistance. Hence the relationship between trader and Indian is likely to be more impersonal than in the West. Furthermore, there are a few Indian traders to supply some commercial needs.

THE PAPAGO AND GOVERNMENT: THE AGENCY

The three Papago reservations are under the jurisdiction of the Sells Agency[2] of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, headed by a superintendent and staffed by about two hundred administrators, technicians, clerical and manual workers. In addition to the Administrative Branch, which has the general "housekeeping" duties of the staff, the Agency is composed of three branches: Indian Resources and Engineering (whose functions were discussed in chap. iii), Community Services—Education, Health, Law and Order, and Social Service—which are discussed below. This staff performs for a group of nearly seven thousand Indians many of the functions which in other parts of the country are the province of such local and state organizations and officials as boards of health, education and welfare, state and municipal highway departments, county agents, boards of supervisors, and public safety departments. In most of its programs the Agency staff works in close co-operation with the tribal council, and it seeks to gain widespread public support before new developments are initiated.

PAPAGO SCHOOLS

As previously noted, the Papago have a short life-span, two-fifths of the population being under eighteen years of age, according to ration-book data in 1942. The school-age group alone (six to seventeen years, inclusive) numbered 1,681 children—25 per cent of the population. Not only a much higher proportion of the people are of school age than is customary in other parts of the country, but many of the children live in tiny remote villages, where roads are only wagon trails. Thus the problem of providing schools is greater.

There were in 1943 eighteen day schools on the three Papago reservations. Of these, eleven were maintained by the Indian Service, all of them on the main Reservation. The Roman Catholic missions had six day schools (one on the San Xavier Reservation) and the Presbyterians one at San Miguel in Chukut Kuk District. Off the reservations, Papago children attend four boarding schools and various special schools and sanatoriums run by the Indian

2. Renamed "Papago Indian Agency" in 1948.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

earlier than is usual among many white groups, nevertheless the Papago child still has a good deal of time for play. 857

Siblings and cousins of the same sex and approximate age from two or three neighboring households usually play together. Boys are free to roam the village and fields, but little girls must play near a habitation and can go from house to house only under the watchful eye of adults. At home brother, sister, and cousins often play together, but elsewhere boy-and-girl groups are seldom seen.

In play groups there is little quarreling. The older boys or girls make decisions together, and the smaller ones abide by them. Older children try to settle differences with their juniors peaceably; by so doing, they can get their own way at least part of the time, as they seldom would if every difference were taken to the elders. Even the boys rarely quarrel violently; a good deal of scuffling and wrestling goes on but few real fights. If a quarrel does occur in village play groups of either sex, the children go to their homes and stay until the incident is forgotten. 857 578

Interest in the old Papago games—shinny for the girls, racing and kickball for the boys—has waned. Occasionally children play the stick game when they are at the saguaro camp, but they must ask older people what the rules are. Despite their rapid disappearance, the sports of former days have not been replaced by American games. Children in the eastern districts play baseball, football, and basketball at school, but such games are less frequent in the West. Jackstones is popular among little girls all over the Reservation (probably because it resembles an old Indian game for girls),[1] while little boys play marbles. 857

Purchased toys have not become a part of the Papago child's life. Boys sometimes have coaster wagons or toy automobiles, and girls ordinarily have a doll or two from the store when they are little, but interest in such toys is never very great, and they are abandoned by most children past the age of eight. [439]

Most often children amuse themselves with toys or games created from things at hand, odds and ends picked up in the yard. Boys are especially adept at this; a child may amuse himself for an hour with a band of inner tubing, seeing what strange noises or shapes he can produce with it. Boys make slingshots and aim at targets or take turns pitching knives, and they fashion rough figurines from moistened desert soil. Much of their play is imitative: they dance, sing, and play imaginary musical instruments at a make-believe fiesta; they play cowboy with sticks and bits of rope. Probably the latter motif predominates, for every boy wants to be a cowboy. If a horse is corraled near the

1. See Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, p. 146.

[Text continues on p. 135-Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

883 494 As previously mentioned, boys are free to go to other villages when their help is not needed at home. Girls' trips to school on the bus are exceptions to the rule of constant female chaperonage. Sometimes school children get off the bus in another village to visit overnight in the home of relatives; mothers occasionally complain that their daughters stop in other villages rather than come home to help with the work. However, there is no worry concerning their safety, for the bus-driver brings word of their whereabouts, and they are assured a welcome in the home of any relative. Adolescents not in school use the bus to reach relatives in time of sickness, to help with the harvest, or just to visit.

883 756 A young Papago rarely loses his faith in the medicine man, though it may be dormant during any time he spends in boarding school. However, the adolescents begin to realize that there are some sicknesses with which the white doctor can cope more adequately than the medicine man. But the youth makes an ill-defined distinction between white men's diseases and Indian diseases, and he sometimes asks why animals do not seem to make white people sick. So he is often confused as to what to do when illness strikes and perhaps tries several courses to be on the safe side: he may take medicine prescribed by the white nurse in the morning, ask for a half-native rosary service in the afternoon, and have the medicine men in to sing and communicate with the spirits at night.

883 430 562 571 On the Reservation the Papago youth has little more contact with whites than he did as a youngster. Tourists have never swarmed to Papago villages as they do to the pueblos, for the Desert People are not romantic in appearance, and their principal extant ceremonies are not open to public view.[2] Buyers of cattle and baskets come, but they do not stay long. Older boys, who often herd the stock while their elders deal with cattle-buyers, have little to do with the buyers, but they learn what prices to expect and how to bargain.

882 562 571 Whites who live on the Reservation—traders, occasional miners, a few missionaries, and government employees—are familiar figures to the youth of districts in which they live or visit often. Adolescents' contacts with these persons are almost entirely impersonal, and few youths make any effort to change this situation. Some exceptional adolescents will talk readily with whites and are willing to act as interpreters, but in both eastern and western districts teen-age boys and girls are likely to face whites with a rather blank expression and would prefer to watch them unseen. When addressed by a strange white, the young Papago usually replies with "Yes," "No," or "I don't know." Often the brevity of the answer is due as much to difficulty of understanding or fear

2. However, many tourists come to see the old mission on San Xavier Reservation.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa 174 511 431 this spirit of giving. But not only was the Papago practice of giving motivated by economic considerations; generosity was a high virtue and giving was truly an investment in good will. One who secured a reputation for penury definitely lost caste in village and family life. Moreover, all gifts were returned in equal quantity and more. Such continuous exchange of goods in the form of gifts constituted the Papago equivalent for trade but only rarely attained the status of actual trade.

Pa 174 439 In addition to the extensive system of exchange of goods among themselves, some Papago made trading expeditions to the Yuma. They also journeyed to the middle Gila, the San Pedro and the Indians in the Altar Valley, then later among the Mexicans of various parts of Sonora. This was done particularly at harvest time, Papago from the northern villages traveling to the Gila where they had relatives and friends, those from the southern settlements being in closer contact with Mexico, particularly the Altar Valley. At these places they traded numerous articles and labored in return for food, in historic times chiefly wheat, but formerly maize and beans, as well as cotton. This was observed in 1740, later by Anza;[88] again in 1863-64, and in 1893 by Whittemore,[89] who also noted that when the Papago became very hungry they would journey to the Gila and present for the Pima a "Begging Dance" which had a specific form and lasted two or three nights, in return for which each Pima family was expected to contribute fifty to one hundred pounds of wheat.

Pi Pa [535] [731]

Pa 174 464 In Mexico a few Papago worked as cowboys and at miscellaneous tasks, for which they were paid in money. Such contacts resulted in a more rapid deculturation and disorganization than occurred in the northern villages. Specifically these villages in the south, some of which had raised cattle since Kino's day, began about a century ago to acquire cattle in larger numbers. As a result of hire for money among the

[88] *Documentos*, 3rd ser., IV, 838; Bolton, *Anza*, II, 17.

[89] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1863, p. 384; *ibid.* for 1864, p. 155; Whittemore, in *Among the Pimas*, pp. 81-3.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

of "medicine power" from the ocean. The commercial expeditions were made by many people and while the journey was long and hard it was not surrounded by the regulations which made the latter type of expedition a severe test of a man's physical endurance. The ocean was regarded with reverence and a man must undergo a severe ordeal in order to come into communication with it and to receive power from it. However, his journey and that of the seeker for salt had a few points in common, both being required to run four times around the bed of salt (*anta*) and to remain in isolation four days after their return, observing the usual customs of a fasting period.

The Papago used salt in the widespread commerce of the tribe. It was an article of barter with the Pima on the north and was also sold in Mexico, where the Sonora Mining Co. bought about 20,000 pounds annually from these Indians.[25] In 1920 an old couple was still passing through Sells, Ariz., every year with a supply of salt which was obtained from the salt deposits and carried on the backs of their burros. The salt deposit was said to be about 2 miles from the Gulf of California and about 130 miles from the southern part of the Papago reservation. Those who went for salt made their camp a little distance from the salt bed and after gathering the salt they ran to the sea and thence to their camp, but they did not go to Hiamorli (or Hiamowitcu), which was the destination of those who sought "medicine power."

An expedition to secure salt for commercial purposes had its peculiar customs. Mattias Hendricks went with his father on such a trip, the party including one man beside his father. Mattias was then a little boy, but old enough to get the horses in the morning. Those who went for salt usually took two or three pack burros or horses on which to bring back the salt. They made their camp at a distance from the salt bed and when they went to gather the salt they were required to run four times around the salt bed without stopping. The circumference of the salt bed was about a mile and a quarter. When they had done this and performed certain rites they could take the salt. There were some rocks with sharp edges near the place and these were used in scraping aside the fine substance which covered the surface of the salt and was also below it. This substance was called "salt shoes" and did not have a pleasant taste. Mattias Hendricks said he remembered that his father, after breaking through this substance, said to the salt, "Please leave your shoes because you must ride on a burro." The sharp rocks were used also in scraping up the salt. After the men had finished gathering the salt they ran to the sea without stopping and returned to their camp.

[25] Frank Russell, op. cit., p. 94.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

177 are found in Sonora, and the discovery of one or two
916 large placer mines has been due to these Indians.

The Papagoes are by no means badly off, as a rule,
231 and they manage to make a good living where, so far,
511 the white man's efforts have failed. Their herds, adapting themselves to the arid conditions, are increasing and making the Indian prosperous and comfortable. Good mules now carry burdens which his wife or he himself formerly had to toil under; cheese is made from the milk of their cows and sold or used for their own consumption, and, above all, they have wheat and maize in sufficient quantities to last them all the year round. They
[439] also have wheat and occasionally some head of cattle to sell, obtaining in return commodities of civilized life.
[179 The white man's kitchen utensils are being acquired,
412] and the women have begun to find it more convenient to use flour than to grind the grain on the metate. No native race, though keeping its language, can help changing its ideas under such conditions. In a very few years there will be no more interest attached to the Papago than to the native descendant of the once proud Aztec in the suburbs of the City of Mexico.

191 Although the Papago in Arizona always insists upon
182 speaking his own language, still he is rapidly losing his
177 aboriginal beliefs, customs, and habits; even basketwork, for which the women of the tribe were noted, is falling into decay. Both in Arizona and Sonora the Indians have completely adopted the white man's garments.
177 Some old man may still be found in the more remote
241 parts wearing his aboriginal apparel, consisting of a

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

handful of pinole, whereupon the salt is spread out to dry. The party next moves down to the sea; going into it up to their knees, each man carries corn-meal in his left hand and, watching for the waves, throws one pinch of it, caught with all fingers, on each of four successive waves. He bends forward when a high one comes lest it might throw him on his back, which is a bad thing as it would make him ill. They do not indulge in any sea bathing, for the ocean is too clean to allow them to soil it, they reverently say.

Toward sunset the salt is gathered in sacks, about one hundred pounds in each, two of these making a load. Great care is taken that no salt be spilled on the road as this would bring about some misfortune. Every one takes back with him a piece of silicious sponge which is found on the beach and which is kept carefully from year to year. This is considered a good remedy for external use. But the leader may take a bite of it, chew it, fill his mouth with water, and spray this through his lips on the men. Members of a salt expedition learn new songs on the trip and they say they dream them while asleep. Among the gifts of the sea may be a beautiful wife, luck in hunting, or swiftness in foot-races. After their return they must stay away from their houses from ten to sixteen days. A good deal of their time is spent in singing to the accompaniment of rasping sticks, and after having taken a bath every fourth day the man is able to join his wife again. According to accounts of fifty years ago* the Papagoes supplied Tucson

*See California Notes, Fourth Series, in *California Former*, 1863.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

317 and a mining company with thousands of pounds of salt
439 annually. This was undoubtedly brought from this Pinacate deposit. Much of the salt used to be exchanged for wheat with the Pimas.

[pp. 274-328 not processed]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28
Sand Papago

184 willow as material. Arrows were made from the arrow-
411 bush. Arrow-points of hard stone have occasionally been found in that country, but never stone axes.

184 They had foot-races and also practised the game of
[526] throwing with the end of a thin pole two short pieces of wood which are linked together. (Page 89.) In the
184 winter time they lived at a higher elevation in the moun-
221 tains where they erected grass huts. Once a year a jour-
● [439] ney was made to Yuma to barter with the Indians there, and maize, tépari beans, and squashes were exchanged for baskets and sea-shells. Remnants of these people are
184 living at Quitovaquita and the Growler Well, both places
361 in Arizona. A few families are said to live near the railway station, Adonde, near Wellton, on the Southern Pacific line.

[pp. 333 to 343 not processed]

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

Russell (22) refers to the Papagos as trading acorns *(Quercus oblongifolia)* to the Pima.

The important fruit crop comes from species of cactus, and of these the giant cactus or sahuaro *(Carnegia gigantea)* is most outstanding, its ripening preluding the rainy season, the drinking ceremony, and the new year. The Papagos depend upon this fruit to a much greater extent than do any other Indian people of the Southwest, and some six hundred families gather about 100,000 pounds each year (25).

Every family has an accustomed camp on some slope where sahuaro grows, and here they have a rough shelter, with a water jar, perhaps a metate, and a cooking pot. Cactus camp is always an occasion of jollity. It means almost the first fresh food of the year, for much of the pulp is eaten fresh; the first taste of anything sweet; and, principally, the preparation for the great drinking ceremony which is regarded as responsible for bringing the rains.

The picking season lasts about two weeks. The women of the camp, sometimes assisted by the men, make two trips a day into an area perhaps half a mile square, which is their acknowledged territory, visiting every cactus plant in this area once in three or four days to gather the fruit as it ripens. Each carries a bowl-shaped, water-tight basket (more recently a lard pail is used) to receive the pulp. One large basket, used as a general receptacle, is propped in an ocotillo bush *(Fouquieria splendens)* at some central point.

The fruit of the sahuaro grows at the extreme top of the shaft, which is sometimes twenty-five feet high, or at the tips of the branches, and is hooked down with a long pole made of two giant cactus ribs spliced together. Formerly the splicing was agave fiber; now it is wire. At the top of this pole, and again at a lower point, perhaps five feet down, are affixed short transverse sticks of creosote bush *(Covillea glutinosa)* or of catclaw *(Acacia greggii)* for the purpose of aiding in dislodging the fruit.

17:Cattetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

285 ribs project beyond the pod in long, wire-like hooks. Great globular bunches of these pods, with their projecting hooks hang in the house of every basket maker. Before they can [361] be split and bent as sewing withes, the pods must be softened with lye and water. The Papago method of accomplishing this is to spread them on the ground, scatter wood ashes over them and leave them for a week. Just before they are to be used, they are buried in dampened ground. The next morning, they are sufficiently softened to allow the ribs and hooks to be split off. One rib and hook together form a strip about ten inches long and pithy in the middle. The worker splits it in two, removes the pith and thus has two sewing strips, each a quarter inch wide. These strips she keeps soaking in water while she works, so that they will be pliable.

The white element in the design was always willow *(Salix nigra)*. The strips are the same as those used for the foundation except that, for sewing, one withe is split into six or eight strips. Since willow does not grow in the Papago country, women, in the old days, economized by making their baskets largely black. An old Papago basket can be distinguished from a Pima by the predominance of black in the design.

285 For modern commercial purposes, women have begun 439 to use the inner leaves of *takwi*, or soapweed *(Yucca glauca)* for sewing. The women gather, dry, split, and clean off the rough edges of these leaves much as they do with sotol. Their color is whiter than willow but it forms a soft non-water-tight basket used only for trade. Also, under the influence of traders, women have begun to introduce the outer leaves of soapweed which have turned brown with age, and women who make basketry a business have begun to experiment with other twigs and roots.

285 The most important article made in coiling was the bowl, which varied considerably in shape according to its uses for winnowing, stone boiling, serving liquor, gathering, sorting, parching, and storing food. A large inverted

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

basket bowl constituted the drum, and a small basket might serve as a drinking cup. All these because of the hard usage received were usually made of willow throughout, but for the water-tight vessels willow was essential as it swelled and filled the interstices.

The water bottles (no longer used) were tall, slender bottle shapes with an incurving neck. They were smeared outside with a gum-like secretion from the white brittlebush *(Encelia farinosa)*.

The basket granaries seen were about three feet high and sloping up gradually from a two-foot base. The warp element was beargrass *(Nolina erumpens)* or wheat straw when the latter was available; the weft, mesquite bark *(Prosopis velutina)*. ((For details see Kissell, 16).

The tools for coiled basketry are awls with points of varying length, at present made of steel but formerly of mesquite wood, generally with a handle of creosote bush wood *(Covillea glutinosa)*.

COTTON SPINNING AND WEAVING

Weaving was a rare art practiced by a few old men. One who wanted a cotton blanket or skirt would trade for the cotton, either from the few who raised it or from the Pimas. He might be able to have the spinning done at home but generally he brought the load of raw cotton to the weaver, with the gift of a large basket, beads, or dried produce. This was the price for the weaving.

The weaver called in all his neighbors for a spinning bee, giving them their meals as pay. Both men and women could spin but it was a favorite occupation of old men. They first ginned the cotton by putting it in a basket bowl and working the seeds out with a stick. To separate the fibers the worker twanged his bow string over them, causing the topmost fibers to twist around the string. This method is described by Spier (23) for the Maricopa who perhaps learned it from the Pima. The cotton was spun on a spindle of arrow weed *(Pluchea sericea)* eighteen inches high, with

was variously estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000 of the former and 8,000 to 10,000 of the latter. It is possible that the number of cattle sold annually from the reservation influenced Clotts in arriving at these latter estimates. As Gwyneth Harrington learned later, Papago have always been credited with running more cattle than they possessed because of the numbers sold from the reservation. She learned that Mexican cattle were habitually introduced into the United States through the Papago Reservation at market time by Mexican ranchers seeking higher prices for their stock.

Clotts' comments on stock raising as observed in 1914 are of sufficient interest to quote in full (Clotts, 1915, pp. 7-8):

> "Husbandry. These Indians own at the present time a very large number of cattle and horses. These are ranged in the valleys as long as the water lasts in the charcos, and are then driven to the mountains and watered at the wells, the water being raised by means of the simple combination of saddle pony, lariat, and rawhide bucket. The Indians are good horsemen and round up and branding time is an important event.
>
> "Grazing. A large number of cattle are sold annually to buyers from Tucson and other points. It is a fairly good cattle country, notwithstanding the lack of a sufficient number of watering places scattered throughout the country. It is variously estimated that there are from 30,000 to 50,000 cattle and 8,000 to 10,000 horses belonging to the Papagos. Among these is a good proportion of very good stock since the introduction a few years ago of a number of thoroughbreds.
>
> "Owing to the hot, dry months of May, June, and sometimes July, when the charcos go dry and the grazing around the mountain wells is reduced to

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at the missions. Familiarity with the work-exchange idea prepared Papagos for the system of barter prevalent in the rural areas on the frontiers of New Spain. At least by the time New Spain won its independence and called itself Mexico the Desert People had begun to work and trade for money. But their homeland economy was still on a barter basis, and did not go onto a cash basis until after many years of control by Anglo-Americans.

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Anglos established the first stores the Desert People had seen, and brought a much wider selection of foods and goods to be purchased with cash. Anglos were in the habit of paying for labor in cash rather than kind. As the Indians began to want the new foods and goods their own economy collapsed. Always the Desert People had survived on a very narrow margin in their resource-poor environment. But they always got by. Now as they acquired tastes for new foods and desires for new goods, their resources could not supply the surplus needed to purchase them. The Papagos had to convert their only unexploited resource--their own labor--into the cash they needed to buy new necessities. Their economy changed from a food-gathering-agricultural-hunting-work exchange subsistence economy to a wage labor-agricultural cash economy.

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The role Papago women have played in these changes cannot be overemphasized. They found it far easier to prepare and cook foods from trading posts than to gather the desert foods, prepare and cook them. Half the food eaten on the reserves now is purchased.[1] Many articles of Anglo technology--irons, sewing machines, flour, etc. --made women's work easier, and Papago women adopted them. This has meant Papago men and frequently women too had to work for cash to pay for purchased foods and sewing machines and cloth and durable goods.

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This need for cash is recognized by the realistic Desert People and moves them to hire out for wage labor. They have wants which they feel strongly. They realize their wants can be satisfied only with cash, and they have found cash can be acquired in most cases only by marketing their labor, since it is the major Papago resource. Their other resources simply cannot produce the cash necessary to satisfy their wants.

[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.

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The Desert People buy food in the supermarkets . . . the neighboring Chinese stores.

clothes . . .

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notions . . .

and ride back to camp in a truck.

461 The economic incentive in harvesting cotton is re-
464 flected in some purchasing habits of Papagos during
picking season. About three-fifths of them buy some
454 quantity of staple foods beyond their immediate needs
in labor camps. They take such extra food back to the
261 reserves on one of their trips to a fiesta, or at the
end of the work season.[1] Flour, sugar, coffee, and
beans bought with cotton picking wages help see the
family through some of the months between harvest sea-
sons. The quantity laid in is usually not large,
probably enough for only a month or two.

432 The Desert People who pick cotton also purchase
439 most of their clothing while they are at work and earn-
ing money--and are near Anglo shopping centers where
prices are less than in reservation trading posts, and
choice is wider. Many jackets, boots, and other items
are purchased at Magdalena at fiesta also. Perhaps
7 Papago harvest hands are limited in their clothing
purchasing to picking season and its ready cash of 10.[2]

461 Some of the Desert People do not go to work in the
891 cotton fields from a need for money, however. There
are some determined parents who are thoroughly con-
vinced both of the necessity for educating their child-
ren and the inadequacy of Indian Bureau schools on the
reserves. Some of them act upon their convictions by
moving to labor camps so their children may attend pub-
lic schools where they have to learn to compete with
Anglo and Mexican-American children. This element of
[181] competition is generally absent from reservation
schools despite the best efforts of teachers because
students are all Papagos, and Papago training is all
toward cooperation and good interpersonal relations
rather than competitiveness.

166 Some older people go to labor camps because there
888 is no one left on the reservation to care for them when
the family goes to pick. As an old man put it, "I mov-
[462] ed over here so my daughter could feed me." Women are
the cooks in Papago society, and this widower had to
come along with his daughter's family to eat.

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[1] Of 22 families giving data, 14 purchased extra food to store, 64%.

[2] Of 14 families giving data, 10 bought all their clothes during the work season in 1950--71%.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

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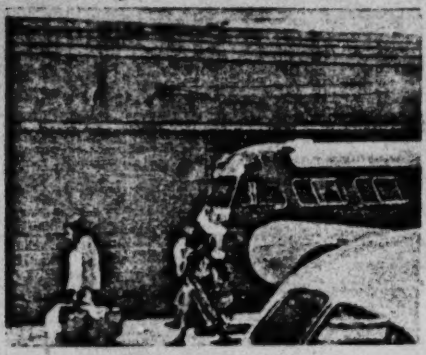
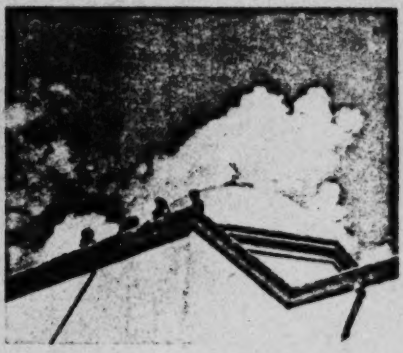


Half the Papago pilgrims came by bus.



Papago children explored the church founded by Eusebio Kino and Augustin de Campos over 250 years ago . . .

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or enjoyed a ride . . .

while their parents shopped for candles for San Francisco Xavier . . . and ribbons for stay at homes . . . and statues . . . and religious pictures . . . and milagros.

reliable but they're more trouble--you have to take them to town, to the store, and you have to look after them more than the others.[1]

The Desert People working in the cotton harvest meet farmers and other laborers under very special conditions in labor camps and fields. But for a few hours in the week they come into contact with a much wider range of Anglo-American culture in trading centers where they shop. They enter into the buyer-seller relationship prevalent in our society, in stores of many kinds. They go to movies. They sit by trucks that haul them to town and watch the colorful harvest season crowds. They seek sympathetic or predatory men to buy liquor for them, since legally they cannot purchase it themselves. Then, they drink it as fast as possible so they won't loose the poor quality liquor they've been overcharged for if they're arrested. As a result they generally become staggering drunk and are arrested, contributing both cash and labor to the city governments of trading towns--and giving their tribe a black eye. Their few hours in town on Saturday afternoon make a deep impression upon the observant Desert People.

In Pima county, large-city Tucson is shopping day goal for Papagos. They take a bus into the city about once a month.[2] These are the shopping trips remembered by the Desert People, for in talking about their shopping, they didn't bother to mention more frequent trips to stores in Sahuarita or Marana where the center of town is no more than a general store or two and a garage.

In Pinal county the Desert People usually shop in the trading center nearest the labor camp where they live. The main shopping towns are Casa Grande, Eloy, Picacho, and Stanfield and Maricopa. The first three are towns of about 4,000 inhabitants. The others are "wide places in the road." To some extent Papagos go there, or to country stores at Friendly Corners, El Centro, etc., most of the time, looking forward to a trip to one of the towns every couple of weeks or once a month. The Indians go to one of the business centers Saturday afternoon, usually for 3 hours or more.[3]

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[1] 5 individuals giving information averaged 25.2 days between shopping days in Tucson.

[2] 18 Papagos giving information went to town every 7.4 days on the average.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

But those few hours are enough for the Papagos to spend about half their wages. During the war it was estimated $40 of every $100 they received from labor, cattle, and produce went immediately to business men operating outside the reserves.[1] With the boom in cotton, and the boom for Papago pickers, probably even more is spent off the reserves today.

Most farmers who send a truck in to town with a load of Indians seem to have learned they have fewer problems with drunkenness if the trucks return to the labor camps before dinner. The time the Desert People spend in town now is considerably less than it was a few years ago, when the streets were filled with Papagos long after dark. Then on Monday morning farmers went to city halls in numbers to find some of their laborers and pay their "$10 or 10 day" fines so they could go back to work.

Drinking is still the main sin Anglo employers hold against Papago farm workers, as well as the number one social problem among the Desert People. As a farmer near Stanfield observed, "There's nothing more useless than a drunk Indian." It is the exceptional cotton farmer who can say of his Papagos they "drink less and are less trouble--the whites drink more." Most farmers would agree with a foreman who said that the Papagos in his camp "all drink, but very few get wild." Some growers control this problem by firing those of the Desert People unable to restrict their tippling to week ends in town. Cotton farmers often bail out good workers rather than lose their services for 10 days to the city. All over the irrigated valleys where Papagos work, bootlegging to Indians is an acute problem.

So widespread is drinking among the Desert People in labor camps that it appears to be one big attraction to Papagos to leave their reserves to work. Liquor is much more easily obtained in labor camps and trading towns than on isolated reserves. Friendly or profiteering Anglos, Negros and Mexican-Americans willing to sell a bottle to a thirsty Indian are relatively abundant around camps and towns. And enforcement of laws prohibiting liquor to Indians is especially difficult outside reserves. One isolated rural store, at

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[1] Program, Papago Reservation, 1944, p. 43.

273 One isolated rural store, at
452 least, sold Papagos wine on credit in 1950—an
439 ultimate easing of the usual difficulty Indians find in buying intoxicants!

273 Many individual Papagos picking cotton probably
[434] have no cash surplus from their season's labor be-
[454] cause they spend all their extra money for liquor.
[511] They work long enough to get drunk, then lay off until
[526] they are both broke and sober again. This type of individual gives the whole Papago labor force a very evil reputation. But neither disapproval or employers nor social disapprobation within the Papago tribe seem to be strong enough to curb drinking.

000 Probably repeal of federal law prohibiting liquor
[293] to Indians would remove some of the attraction liquor holds for the Papagos. It would surely cut down on the number of staggering drunks—the usual state of Papago drunks—in allowing the Desert People to sit down in a bar like other civilized human beings and drink slowly and socially instead of paying an inflated bootlegger's price for inferior liquor to be gulped down immediately in a dark alley before a policeman confiscates it. Some policemen make a semi-racket of letting known bootleggers operate, and waiting until Papagos are thoroughly drunk before arresting them—a practice resulting in considerable police department revenue, and some extra cash for the officers, if some observant growers are to be believed. But the Desert People *do not* drink merely because they aren't supposed
273 to. The basic reasons lie deeper in their psychology,
182 and are undoubtedly tied into emotional insecurities
154 bred from economic uncertainty and the stresses arising from getting along with only half-understood Anglos.

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Pa 658 797

There is what is termed a "contract school" located at Tucson, which many of the Papago children attend. The school is established and supported in part by a missionary department of the Presbyterian church. The buildings are large, airy, well planned, and adapted to the purpose required. The pupils seem well disciplined and clean. The government pays a stated sum annually to the school for each pupil in attendance as reimbursement for board and clothing furnished. The school owns 5 or 6 good buildings, all in good condition and well furnished, also a farm of 43 acres. On account of lack of water but few garden vegetables are grown, but barley and wheat yield abundantly.

Some of the scholars are taught carpentering, painting, and plastering, and their work is quite satisfactory.

PAPAGOS LIVING OFF THE RESERVATION.

Pa 131 197

These Papago Indians live in the southern part of Pima county, along the southern border of the territory of Arizona. Their language is similar to that spoken by the Pimas. They roam over a country about 100 miles in width north and south and about 125 miles east and west, and there are a few small villages over the Mexican border but near the boundary line.

Pa 13 231

The country in which they live consists of broad, open plains, divided by mountain ranges. The valleys or plains are arid, having no natural springs or running streams of water; yet after the summer rains these plains are covered with grass of a fine quality, and owing to the dryness of the air this grass is cured or dried on the ground and furnishes good, rich food for cattle during the remainder of the year.

Pa 361 312 342 [231]

The Indians select their dwelling places at the foot of the mountains near the mouth of the various canyons that open out into the plains. Small springs often flow through these canyons and sink into the sand. The Indians utilize these springs or sink wells into the sand, and thus secure the underflow from the springs. Their cattle feed out into the plains and return to these wells or springs to drink. Near these watering places, usually on an elevation, the Indians build their houses in their permanent villages of adobe, about 12 by 16 feet in area and about 8 feet in height. Small poles are laid on top and crosswise of the building, and on these are laid brush, with weeds or grass on the brush, the whole covered with about 6 inches of clay, which is impervious to water. The floor is of clay, and there is one doorway, but no windows. The doorway is sometimes closed with a dried beef hide. As a rule, they live on the outside of the house. The house contains no furniture except a little bedding and some cooking utensils.

Pa [352]

Their food consists of beef, dried wild fruit, dried mesquite beans made into a kind of bread, and wild game. During the summer rains they raise some vegetables, which they dry for winter use. They also sell or trade cattle to settlers in the Gila and Santa Cruz valleys for wheat and corn, which the women grind in their crude way into meal and flour. They have adopted the civilized mode of dress, and are gradually learning the use of soap.

Pa 262 439 291

The women of the tribe are virtuous and industrious, being in these traits far in advance of any other tribe in the territory.

Pa 161 648 Pa 46

There are 4,000 of this tribe living off the Papago reservation. With rare exceptions they are self-sustaining, have always been good citizens, and on many occasions have joined with the whites to assist in suppressing murderous Apaches. The principal occupation of the men is raising cattle and horses, and a little farming when they can find a piece of damp ground that will raise corn and vegetables, hunting, chopping wood around mining camps, and ordinary labor wherever they can find it. If there is any mixed blood in the tribe it is not perceptible.

There are several mining camps scattered throughout the country which these Indians inhabit, and in some of the large valleys wealthy men or companies have sunk wells 500 or 1,000 feet deep and established cattle ranches or ranges, and many Indians are employed about these camps and mines.

Pa 133 497 234

The country is somewhat difficult of access, as there are several mountain ranges running through it. The trails follow the valleys, and sometimes it is "a long way around where it is only a short way across". These mountain ranges abound in game, which the Indians hunt.

Pa 273 231

A month's travel in these Papago villages failed to reveal a single case of drunkenness, although there are frequent instances of drunkenness among Indians in the streets of Tucson. They have great numbers of horses and cattle, but it is impossible to form a correct estimate as to numbers. The horses are small and inferior, but the cattle are fully up to the average in size and quality.

Pa 648 771 197

These Indians as a tribe have always been exceptionally friendly to the white people. They have never received aid from the government. The little religion they have is a conglomerate of Roman catholicism, superstition, and Indian bosh. The Roman Catholic church established missions among them more than 150 years ago.

THE RESERVATION AND NONRESERVATION PAPAGO INDIANS, PIMA AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent C. W. Wood on the reservation and nonreservation Papagos of Pima and Cochise counties.

Pa 101 Pi [101] Pa [791]

TRIBAL NAME.—The Papagos and Pimas were formerly one tribe. Authorities differ as to the derivation and meaning of the name. One view is that Papago means "hair cut", another that it means "baptized". Neither of these meanings has any etymological basis or value. The most reasonable derivation of the term seems to be the following, derived from conversation with the oldest Indians: the division of the Pimas occurred from the labors

241 GRAIN.—The roving Papagos, those living off the reservation, raise only grain enough, principally wheat and corn, for their own use. Squashes, melons, and sugar cane make up the list of their common crops. Cultivation with them consists in scratching the ground with their stick plows and planting the seed. They pay no attention whatever to weeds. They inclose small fields of fertile ground in the mesas with brush fences and then plant after a rain at the right season. If it rains in November, they plant wheat. Rain in December will insure a good growth of straw, but rain in February will be necessary to mature the berry. The failure of rain in any of the 3 months will prevent planting or about ruin the crop which has been started. Owing to the uncertainty of propitious rains they obtain crops, apart from irrigation, only about once in 6 years.

Their wheat is white, a short, plump berry, of remarkably good quality. In the off years they resort to the reservation, raise a little grain, and "pack" it to their villages. Corn, squashes, sugar cane, and melons are raised after the summer rains.

252 412 They grind grain on an inclined stone, called a metáte, using a smaller stone, about the size of a brick, called a mano, as the crushing power. A handful of whole grain is placed at the top of the metáte, a part of it is scattered over the surface of the stone with a dexterous flirt of the hand, and it is then powdered by two or three energetic rubs with the small stone. The whole process resembles that of washing clothes with a washboard. The flour is caught in a bowl as it falls from the metáte, is clean and free from grit, and contains all the nutriment of the grain.

272 252 [234] Parched wheat, when ground in this manner, is mixed with water, forming a palatable drink, called penole. Corn is never ground raw, but after it has been boiled, and the meal is pressed and rolled up in soft corn husks and forms their bread for journeys. It is superior in taste, in my judgment, to any kind of corn bread made by the whites. They manufacture a kind of cheese from milk, but have no process for butter making.

231 STOCK.—The Papagos have small herds of stock and droves of horses. These constitute their substance, but each possessions can not be large in view of the uncertainty of water. Nearly every family has a few fowls. Their wants are few, and those are easily satisfied. They are self-supporting, and no charge on the government for either food or clothing.

493 An occasional farm wagon was found in a village, but in Ki-ki-wah there were 4. This village is about 90 miles from Tucson and 10 from the Mexican line.

224 [439] GAME.—Various species of deer abound, and in season the markets of the whites are supplied with venison by the Indians. Mountain sheep and goats are also brought in by them, but in less numbers than deer. Black and cinnamon bears are occasionally killed. The cotton-tail rabbit abounds, and is in demand for the table. The flesh is white, and fully equal to chicken in delicacy of flavor. Dangerous wild animals are also killed by the Indians in considerable numbers. The most formidable of these is the mountain lion. This animal destroys young stock, and is therefore hunted with zeal by the Papagos. The pelts possess a trifling value. The wildcat and civet cat are very numerous. The coyote, fox, jack rabbit, and skunk make up a group of animals which are pests, though not dangerous ones. The jack rabbit is sometimes used for food.

223 BIRDS.—Among the birds useful to Indians are the quail, dove, mocking bird, and cardinal bird. These are trapped with great success by them, the quail and dove for food, the others for household pets, their sale forming quite an income. Hawks, owls, and crows abound. Wild ducks, geese, bittern, heron, and snipe are killed in their migration back and forth between Mexico and California. It will be seen that the Indians have many food resources on wing and foot, valuable for consumption or sale.

342 333 DWELLINGS.—No tents are used among the Papagos, and about two-thirds of the houses are made of adobe, the rest being constructed of mud and brush. They consist of but one room, and have dirt roofs laid on rafters of small trees. There is no uniformity as to the size of the houses. The adobe bricks are made in an open frame of four compartments from a gray mud or clay mixed with short cut straw or hay. This mold is placed upon the ground, filled with the soft adobe, packed firmly, and then the frame or mold is removed and the brick left to dry. The usual size of a brick is 4 by 9 by 18 inches.

[356] The Papagos are cleanly in their habits. They sweep the dirt floors of their houses, and in some cases the ground around them. No vermin of any kind was found in any of their houses.

291 [177] CLOTHING.—The men wear boots or shoes, pants and shirts, and straw or felt hats. A canvas jacket is worn on cool days or on a journey. The women wear shoes, stockings, and skirt, and waist blankets are quite common with both sexes, with the women serving as shawl and head covering. The women sew nicely by hand, using thimbles. They also use sewing machines, of which there were three in Ki-ki-wah.

181 [548] [595] MORALS.—The men were generally represented to me to be truthful and honest and the women to be virtuous. Prostitution is said to be unknown among them. This may be due to the fact, as some claim, that wives are taken and abandoned at will. Occasionally a man was found with 2 wives.

Their honesty was tested in various ways on our trip. The outfit of 2 wagons was left unguarded for a whole day when we made the trip from Tecolote to Fresnal and neighboring villages, and not a thing was disturbed. Twice after we left villages forgotten articles were brought to us by men on horseback. These articles would not have been missed, and might have been kept by them with perfect impunity. The Papagos are not addicted to